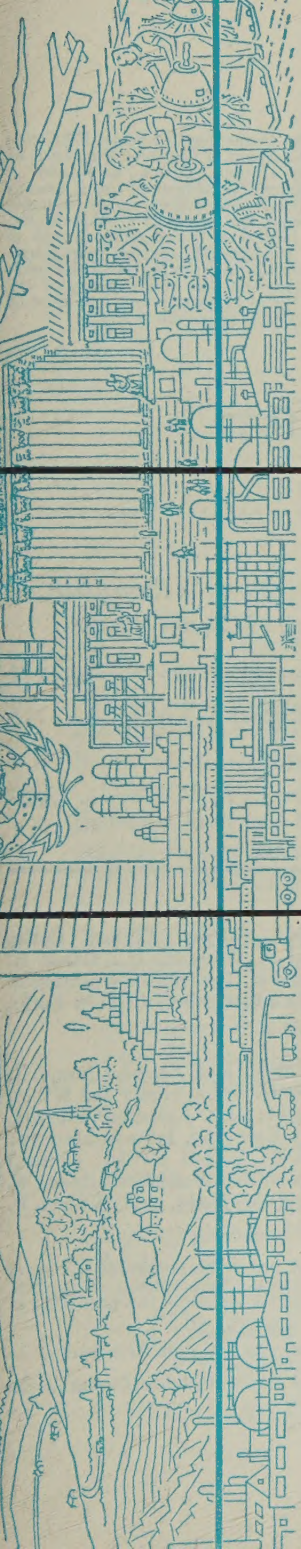

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May 1957

SOCIAL PROGRESS

The Church and Culture

Vol. XLVII, No. 9

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.A., to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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Published monthly, except August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan St., Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1.00 a year; three years for $2.50. Single copy, 15 cents. Group rates on request. Send subscriptions to 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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From This Vantage Point...

In this issue of Social Progress we present several articles on the important subject of the church and its relation to the culture in which we live. By culture (to use what seems to be the simplest definition) we mean that part of our environment which is *man-made,* as differentiated from our *natural* environment.

One of the best religious books of the present decade was on this theme—*Christ and Culture,* by H. Richard Niebuhr, of Yale University. In introducing the book in June, 1951, the *Bulletin* of the Religious Book Club presented the following useful précis:

> The relation of Christ to our human culture appears to Professor Niebuhr as a far more complicated problem than the champions of any particular view recognize. It is his great merit that he saves us from any tempting oversimplification. He does this partly by the acuteness of his analysis, partly by the historical perspective in which he sees the main issues.
>
> Not a single, simple answer but five alternative answers emerge from Professor Niebuhr's study. It is characteristic of his incisive thinking that he summarizes each of them in a pithy phrase. The five answers, each with its vigorous defenders, are:
>
> "Christ *against* Culture"
> "The Christ *of* Culture"
> "Christ *above* Culture"
> "Christ and Culture in Paradox"
> "Christ the Transformer of Culture"

The first answer emphasizes the *opposition* between Christ and culture, in a sharp "either-or" decision. Following this line the Jews of Palestine saw Jesus as the foe of their culture, and early Christians, in turn, rejected the Roman and Greek civilization. In medieval times monasticism became a large-scale illustration of the same attitude, attempting to draw a firm line of separation between Christ and "the world." The Mennonites, renouncing all participation in politics, afford a clear Protestant parallel. In more modern times the antithesis between Christ and culture is reflected in the general outlook of those who regard Christianity as incompatible with capitalism or nationalism or industrialism, or some other institutionalized form of human activity. Leo Tolstoy is an especially conspicuous example of the "anti-cultural" Christian, and so also is Kierkegaard in his intrasigent attacks on the shortcomings of the Christendom of his day.

The second answer, jumping to the other extreme, assumes a fundamental *agreement* between Christ and culture. Jesus is thought of as the great hero of civilization. There is thus no great tension between Christianity and the world or between divine grace and human effort. An early example of this interpretation of Christ in cultural terms was found in the Gnostics and their concern to reconcile the gospel with the philosophy of the time. Ritschl and the nineteenth-century type of liberal theology is also illustrative of the same approach, which rests upon a hopeful conception of human nature and society. The modern Christian who thinks of democracy and the "American way of life" as being wholly harmonious with Christianity represents a similar attitude. In all these cases Christ is identified with what men conceive to be their finest ideals and their best institutions.

Between these two extremes there are middle-ground positions. One of these, the third answer to the question, holds that true culture is not possible unless, beyond all human search for values and all human social achievement, Christ enters into human life from above through divine action. This Dr. Niebuhr describes as the *synthetic* type of answer. Instead of an "either-or," there is a "both-and" approach—Thomas Aquinas, with his reconciliation of faith and reason, is a classical example.

There is a fourth group which parts company with the synthesist on the ground that he does not really face up to the radical evil that is present in all human activity. They may be called the *dualist* type. Although they do not reject the institutions of society and although they recognize the necessary authority of social and political institutions, yet they are conscious of a grave tension between what the gospel requires and what men can hope to achieve in the ordering of

society. Martin Luther is here the great example. Where the synthesist rejoices in the reasonableness of law and social institutions, the dualist points to the selfishness and lust for power that corrupt the human institutions of which he is inevitably a part.

The fifth type sees this same situation but does not face it in a mood of resignation. He thinks of man's culture as capable of being *transformed* by Christ. Augustine and Calvin are historic patterns of this type. Frederick Denison Maurice, the English "Christian socialist," held a similar position, recognizing the contrast between God's will and the ways of the world but stressing the work of Christ as the Redeemer of culture. John Wesley likewise is an exponent of the possibilities of going on to Christian perfection in both the individual and society.

In each of these views Dr. Niebuhr finds an important and permanent aspect of the truth. Yet he makes it plain that none of them is the whole truth. The truth as it is in Christ, he holds, is far greater than any single school of thought apprehends. There is nothing of which we can say, "This is *the* Christian answer." There are only "answers given by Christians." Yet Dr. Niebuhr will not admit that this leaves everything in hopeless relativism, for although insights and duties may be relative there is a faith in God that is an absolute.

To the exposition of these varying views Dr. Niebuhr brings a wealth of illustrative material from the New Testament, from church history, from theology, and from the field of social studies. What might otherwise be pretty abstract and difficult thus becomes concrete and colorful. Here is a basic document in the interpretation of Christianity and society which is readable and understandable by others than the specialists.

FOUR important and (we trust) useful articles are presented in the following pages.

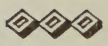
The first is a condensation of a chapter in Albert Rasmussen's helpful and stimulating book, *Christian Social Ethics: Exerting Christian Influence.* Churchmen need today to have some understanding of "the sea of influence" in which we all live and by which our lives are so subtly and deeply affected.

The second article, by the SEA staff, outlines broad strategy for the churches in affecting our culture. The times call for sensitive and imaginative social engineering.

The third article, by Margaret Kuhn, is about our mutual friend, Mr. Whatnow. It suggests how persons are affected by the many influences that play upon their lives. This understanding is fundamental to effective evangelism.

The last article, prepared by Roy W. Fairchild, brings the modern middle-class family into focus and helps us to see what is happening to homes all around us. Hard questions are raised regarding the church's ministry to families.

—The SEA Staff



Excerpts from "Christian Social Ethics," by Albert T. Rasmussen[1]

The Sea of Influence Around Us

ONE of the most dangerous blind spots of our day centers about a need for an adequate understanding of the gigantic powers of social and institutional influence that inevitably play upon all living human beings. We live in a moral climate that surrounds us as pervasively as the air we breathe. We are bathed and saturated in it from the moment of our birth till the moment of our death. We breathe it into our lives as continuously and as unconsciously as the oxygen of the physical world. We develop our habits in the collective pattern of society called custom. Institutions organize the various aspects of our lives. Public opinion curtails our behavior and colors and tinctures our outlook. Even our consciences are never simon-pure but reflect the values under which we have developed.

The powerful influence of the world is not just a dark abstract cloud of evil that hovers over us. The world is the real and particular situation in which we live. It is the arena in which we conduct our lives, make our decisions, and face our temptations. It is made up of the family, neighborhood, and situation in which we work. It consists of the patterns of life in which we move and all of the influences that press upon us.

The Influence of Silent Social Conditioning

Although they are often hard to distinguish, there are two kinds of social influence. First, there is the silent conditioning in which we grow up so gradually and unconsciously that we are never aware of it. The things we learn at our mother's knee, the taken-for-granted values that we accept in daily conversation and example, seem so true that they become "common sense." They seem as self-evident as the ground we walk on, yet there is prejudice and bias and pride woven into these "moral certainties." For our most objective views are slanted and our broadest perspectives are provincial. "All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God," said Paul (Rom. 3: 23, RSV).

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We believe that our family and its attitudes are right. We believe that our own nation is the most trustworthy, the most righteous, and the most democratic. Anthropologists call this universal bias "ethnocentrism." Most of us are Baptists or Presbyterians or Roman Catholics because we were born into families of that persuasion. You can even tell what a minister will emphasize by the seminary he attended. Like fish, human beings run in "schools." We are very much "what we have belonged to." We believe passionately in what we already are, and we are what our intimate associations have made us. As Prof. John C. Bennett warned in his Ayer Lectures [delivered at Colgate Rochester Divinity School in 1950], this basic fact of life should worry us and keep us from having too much confidence in ourselves. It ought to induce the mood of searching humility. We are in truth the product of vast influences, past and present. This is part of what the Calvinists have called predestination.

Attempts to Influence Men

The other type of social influence is that which is deliberately organized to change opinions and alter the moral climate. This type of influence has increased enormously in our society with new types of mass communication: radio, television, centralized press, and modern advertising. Men and groups have always tried to persuade others of the rightness of their views, but now we live in a world that is a gigantic battleground of organized influence. This has been called the struggle for men's souls. In our own time, we have witnessed the surprisingly successful attempts of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia to change the basic moral views of a whole nation by repetition, bombardment, and intimidation. These demonstrations have been terrifying examples before our eyes of the sinister possibilities of organized influence when monopolized.

We can be thankful that in America, so far, we have escaped such a complete monopoly of organized persuasion and have kept alive the freedom to influence, although even here access to the organs of appeal is far from equal. It takes money and control and organization to put on a nationwide campaign in an attempt to change the habits and the moral outlook of a nation. Efforts have been made in our generation to break down the moral sensibilities of the American people in regard to smoking by women and the smartness of social drinking. The promoters have apparently been highly satisfied with the results.

We have now moved into an age in which small groups of people, equipped with outlets into almost every home in the land, can set up a campaign to sway attitudes and morals in their own special interests. So sweeping in significance is this change in the centralization of influence that it has produced one of the grave new dangers of our time.

Solitary Individuals Are Not Human Beings

The official report of the Oxford Conference [in 1937] declared:

> *The church discovers each person, never as an isolated individual, but always enmeshed in a web of organic corporate relationships*

which surround his life in concentric circles of ever-widening radius —his family, his neighborhood, his race, his people, his nation, all humanity.

One of the most important things for us to understand about the processes of influence is that human beings are not things or objects. They are not airtight little compartments existing unto themselves. As one social psychologist put it, persons do not just live "inside their own skins." Emil Brunner, the prominent Continental theologian, says we are "persons-in-community." This means that our lives are developed in an interplay of responses with other human beings. We respond to others and they respond to us. We influence each other; we share experience and, to some degree, we get over into each other's lives in the give-and-take of association. Our lives become a conversation not only of words but also of feelings and meanings. Our attitudes and our beliefs and the things we cherish are not created by ourselves, but come out of the community and are given to us in the process of sharing. Our relationships, what others do to us and what we do to others, provide the fabric out of which our personalities are woven.

This is why it is not strange that we take into ourselves as our own the loves and beliefs and biases of those with whom we share. We are creatures who do not live by bread alone, but by responses to others and a continual response to God's action upon us. This sensitivity, this living in the eyes of others, this limited capacity for sharing is the glory and the genius as well as the danger and the vulnerability of men.

No man can deny or escape his community or the powerful influences that are part of his life. The Christian must recognize them and must learn to criticize the very things of which he is made. He must not submit meekly to family and community, but be the leaven that improves even these.

The Family as Social Influence

The family is the first great social influence in our lives. Beginning when we are almost totally helpless and the world is just buzzing confusion, our parents, step by step, lead us into the world of objects, words, and meanings. In the context of the family, we learn the first painful lessons of restraint and discover who we are and how we stand in the affections, approvals, and disapprovals of this new little world. By continuous guidance and imitation we build up the habits, the ways of doing things, and the early attitudes that establish the foundations of our personalities. These early patterns, developed in response to others, become so deeply and indelibly dyed into our dispositions that they tend to form enduring traits that affect our behavior the rest of our lives.

In these critical early years within the family, we also encounter the shocks, the fears, the insecurities and resentments that often burn into our lives so deeply that later they haunt us and rise up to intrude into our conduct. Many of these anxieties and neurotic patterns that make us aggressive or timid originate in the early failures or maladjustments in the family. The relation of the parents to one another, the experiences

of conflict or mutual trust, the attitudes toward others, the prejudices, and the anxieties—all register their powerful impressions.

This significance of family influence has long been recognized by Christian leaders. We cast our influence into the lives of our children, and our failures rise to haunt us in their sins and inadequacies. How dare we face so grave a responsibility except in the nurture of the fellowship of Christ?

But the Family Lives in a Community

In facing this responsibility, the first thing that confronts one is the impossibility of making "the home" a secluded castle surrounded with an unfordable moat. The family exists in a sea of other influences within a larger community. The family occupies a position in this community that is on the right side or the wrong side of the tracks. It is wealthy or poor or somewhere in between—well known or obscure—a janitor's family or a banker's family—educated or uneducated—old-timers or newcomers. This position will determine a great many things. It will tend to limit the range of friendships, the things to which one will be invited, even the courtship possibilities of the children, and—what is most important—the attitudes and moral patterns that are considered respectable.

A great deal of careful research has been conducted in the last few years on the influence of economic and social status on attitudes and moral patterns. It seems clear that many of our attitudes and prejudices are conditioned by "who we are" in the eyes of our community. Even the virtues we cherish and the vices we abhor are influenced by the class perspectives with which we identify ourselves.

Our purpose here is not to describe all the community and class influences that silently tincture our minds and consciences, but to remind us how deeply immersed we are in the culture around us. The family reacts toward its neighbors and the outer events and pressures about it. In turn, a hundred outer influences impinge upon the family and its members.

In the modern city, there are so many counterpulls and such a spread of personal interests and contacts that the family may literally be pulled apart. The members may do so little in common that the home becomes a mere assembling place for sleep or a short-order cafeteria. The social and financial pressures are often strong for the mother to work, and she may develop her own contacts and interests. Thus the forces of city life have a tendency to dissolve the cohesive bonds of the family and to exert a greater influence on the members than the family itself. The gang or the drugstore crowd may become the primary association of the children, displacing the family and providing the persons whom they most want to please and emulate. For adults, the lodge, the vocational group, or the gang at the corner tavern or even the church circle may become primary.

One of the great problems of the modern urban world is that so many separate aspects of our lives

(*Continued on page 29*)

By the SEA Staff

STRATEGY FOR THE CHURCHES IN A TIME OF CHANGE

In the last fifty years our society has undergone more changes than in all its former history. These were described in the April issue of Social Progress in a remarkable "staff paper" of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches. Our lives have changed so rapidly in the twentieth century that we have failed both to see what these changes have meant and to anticipate the ever-new needs of our communities.

The social changes of recent times have "unmoored us from the past" (to use Robert Oppenheimer's apt phrase). We have barely completed the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and begun to accept its concept on our lives, when a second revolution has come along and no one can predict what nuclear power and automation will do to us in the next decade or so.

New Approaches

In the new social order that technology is bringing to pass, what are the churches attempting to be and to do? Will churchmen be perceptive enough to understand what is taking place and bold enough to devise strategies in keeping with the advancing times?

Unless they have clear ideas about their role in society and about goals, our churches are likely to be badly buffeted and shaken in this period of rapid social change. But with a sure sense of direction, with goals that relate the gospel to man's life today, the churches can be in the vanguard of the new leadership that our society desperately needs.

Let us consider three approaches:

1. We need in our churches a deep and true sense of churchmanship.

This means an understanding of what the church is, or better of what God intended it to be. It should be also a study of the Reformed tradition and a rediscovery of what kind of church we are—especially in terms of an understanding of the relevance of the gospel to social issues. In these changing times we need to keep before us a true picture of the nature and vocation of the church, and of the rule of the church in affecting culture. All this has been discussed in previous issues of So-

CIAL PROGRESS. The unique mission of the church in relation to society was well stated in the social pronouncements of the 168th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (1956), especially in the first and last sections.

2. We need in our churches a new awareness of what is happening to persons.

Persons who in other decades lived in small face-to-face groups on farms and in villages that supplied their major needs are now faced in modern times with the problem of getting along side by side with people they do not know. By the year 2000 our cities will have doubled in size. It is possible that three quarters of our population will be urban by 1975. As the cities grow the more likely are mass relationships to predominate among people. Man's activity increases as our society becomes more complex.

Moreover, the differences between city and country have all but disappeared. Once upon a time people lived either in the city or in the country, and each form of living had definite characteristics which everybody understood. But now even predominantly rural villages have taken on city ways. Modern highways and rural electrification have given isolated farm homes television sets, refrigeration, modern plumbing, all-electric kitchens. Technical advances in the farmhouse have been surpassed in the management and operation of farms. Agricultural advances have made it possible for one man to farm twice as many acres as his grandfather could manage.

Roughly half the young people of rural areas migrate to the cities, and one out of three employed persons living on farms has a nonfarm job in business or industry. Thousands of suburbanites pride themselves on being part-time farmers in their leisure hours.

As our cities have grown we have seen the amazing migration to the suburbs, and the development of sprawling commuting areas that quickly overlap the boundaries of neighboring townships and the suburbs of neighboring cities. One metropolitan area on the East Coast spreads over a six-hundred-mile area from Boston to Virginia.

A decade ago, suburbs for the most part were residential. Now in frantic efforts to decentralize, huge industrial plants, shopping centers, and expressways are remaking the suburbs.

This complex industrialized, urbanized way of life has created a large mobile labor force. Workers who seek to improve their economic lot must move where opportunities are located. The older "clan" or "extended family" of earlier generations has given way to the small "conjugal" or "nuclear" family that can move at the drop of a hat to where jobs may be found. The average American family moves every five years. It cannot bring along in-laws, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins.

More women, especially married women, are now employed so as to supplement family income in order to buy homes, educate children, achieve a higher standard of living. More and more women believe that they should have "a life of their own" and achieve some fuller self-

hood by making a contribution to society.

Married women are often harshly criticized for working outside their homes, but the fact is that their services and incomes are needed to keep our economy expanding. In many communities schools would have to close tomorrow if married teachers were not at their posts.

3. We need in our churches a new kind of social pioneering and engineering to deal with this vast urbanization period. Our churches must take a new approach to their neighborhoods and communities if disorganization of community life is to be halted.

Churches vary widely in their alertness and sensitivity to the communities they serve. Too often they are "doing business as usual" until some change threatens their own existence. Serious and complex problems that deeply affect the lives of people are overlooked until they have become so acute that a crisis is at hand. Then frequently the church attempts to act but often succeeds only in patching up things until another crisis comes along.

All too few churches are aware of shifts and changes in the forces that tug and pull at people's lives. If they are alert to the problems that have arisen in the community, they will prepare themselves to take concerted action to deal with them. They will be deliberately and purposely building relationships in the communities that will help them to move decisively in a crisis, and more importantly, to prevent a problem from reaching the crisis state.

Sociologists define three broad types of problems representing the most acute in contemporary urban life: (*a*) the problem of the urban slum and the need for long-range, co-ordinated community planning to reclaim our cities and suburbs; (*b*) the great increase in the migration of Negro families from the South to the cities of the North and West and the problem of relaxing racial tension and achieving integrated community life; (*c*) the problem of old age and dependency.

In other issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS we have examined our housing problems and the continuing crisis in race relations and human rights. Here we need only to elaborate the problem of economic and social dependency.

Victims of mental illness and other social dependents, such as alcoholics, present great difficulty to modern city families in which these "problems" appear. Nor can the increasing number of older retired workers easily be cared for in the nuclear family of today. As life is extended by medical science, new ways must be found to keep older citizens from becoming burdens to themselves and to the welfare agencies of the communities. They have something useful to contribute to society, but how?

For the first time in American history the dependency ratio is increasing. Persons under twenty and over sixty-five will increase from 43 per hundred persons in 1950 to nearly 48 per hundred in 1975. There will be fourteen to eighteen older dependent persons to every one hundred persons of productive age. As life lengthens, the period of nonproduction will extend to such a degree that some economists are speculating as

to whether our total economy can bear the burden. Will the relatively smaller percentage of people in productive years be able to supply the money, goods, and services that the dependent, nonproductive groups will require?

Additional Strategies

Let us consider now some further strategies for the churches in a time of change.

1. It is important for every church to be engaging in a constant study of its own program and a continuing appraisal of the community it serves.

The church that is aware of the vast social changes that have engulfed all parts of the world ought to see these as reflections of the local scene, for every community is a world in microcosm. Its own life recapitulates the social changes going on everywhere.

This appraisal of the community and the church's own self-study of its program and goals for the community should not only concern the ministers and church officers, but also be a matter of vital interest to all responsible leaders of the congregation. Indeed, all members of the church should be involved in extending the church's influence in the community.

2. Social pioneering suggests that churches need to find allies in the community and to work with them.

Much can be gained by continuing conversations with Jewish and Catholic groups. In a pluralistic society like ours, we "cannot go it alone" if we are really interested in affecting the community for good.

The church's allies also include secular groups—civic organizations, community-planning bodies, labor unions, chambers of commerce, health and welfare councils. Professional housers and community planners have yearned for the cooperation of responsible churchmen, not because the church's own destiny is involved in their policies and plans, but because they know that the churches ought to have something decisive to say about housing policy and about community life in general. Housing experts, for example, believe that local citizens' groups have not even begun to grasp the opportunities that lie before them. A few large cities have well-functioning citizens' committees on housing, but many more are needed. Churches can play a much more decisive role in bringing the representatives of various community groups together to discuss and influence over-all policy.

3. Another strategy for the church is to understand the factors and forces that control American community life.

We in the churches have often confused prestige and power and naïvely assumed that we can determine public policy by resolutions and by letter-writing campaigns. We need to size up the powerful forces that operate in the community and determine the most effective way of reaching them. Ministers and laymen need a more sophisticated awareness of how economic groups are linked with political groups to constitute the power structure of the community. The real "forces" often operate behind the scenes through people who have prestige and respect. The actual process of decision-making usually operates

in secrecy, to guard it against too much outside pressure.

In every community there are persons or groups whose decisions "go down the line." They must give the nod if things are to be done, and the fate of many a project may hang upon their "yes" or "no." If we are to carry a particular measure to the people, we must work with the accepted formal leaders of organizations and also reach the informal grass-roots leaders who control local action.

4. A related strategy for churches is to develop a new social statesmanship that will give them a new concept of the rule of government and of their relationship to the government.

A democratic society is one in which the people work together for the common good.

Karl Barth, the Swiss theologian, reminds us on solid theological grounds that no church can ignore the civil community or the state. "A Christian community is aware of the need for the civil community, and it alone takes the need absolutely seriously. For—because it knows of the Kingdom and grace of God—it knows of man's presumption and the plainly destructive consequences of man's presumption. It knows how dangerous man is."

If the churches are to achieve this new social statesmanship, they will equip their members to move easily among all kinds of people in public life and to live up to the heavy civic responsibilities placed upon them. They will anticipate differences of opinion, or even real conflict of points of view. They will appreciate and understand the importance and the function of social conflict.

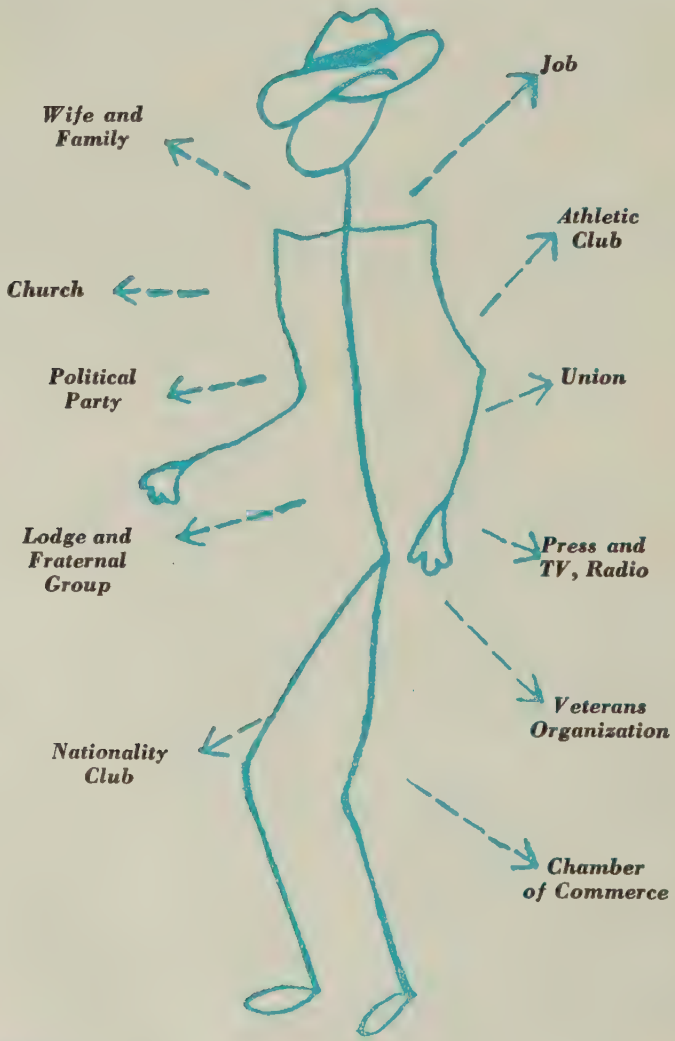
Our allies, the social scientists, look at conflict as a necessary and normal functioning part of the democratic order. A democratic system presupposes differences of opinion and conflict over values, interests, and means and ends. This is an important part of the interaction between groups and persons so essential for learning. Differences of opinion impel people to think. Creative uses of controversy and conflict have not been understood in many churches. Indeed, controversy has too often been feared, not welcomed, because it is believed that conflict might split the church. Many church leaders have put great emphasis on harmony and unity and thus have cut off debate and discussion so necessary to clarify issues and goals and to reach constructive solutions to real problems.

The task of the churches then is to keep the discussion lively and going and to create and explore new ways to make conflict and differences socially productive.

Certainly, Presbyterians ought to have a real appreciation of the importance of diversity, recognizing that our separate judgments stand under the judgment of God and are subject to the correction of the judgment of our fellow Christians. If the church is to handle diversity creatively, if it is to help people transcend their own selfish interests, persons and groups within the Christian community must be helped to understand the views of others in their environment.

Mr. Whatnow

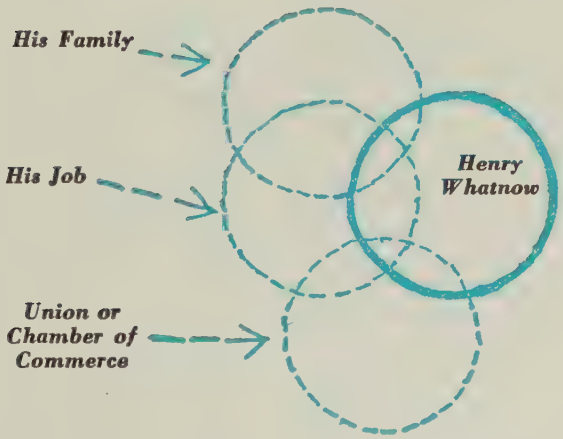
Draw stick figure. Quickly write beside the figure the factors of influence as class members think of them.



Visual Aid A

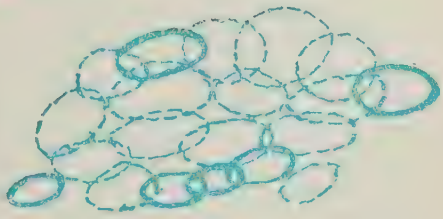
Visual Aid B

Henry is symbolized by the heavy line circle. Draw broken line circles to represent groups and influences that affect his life. Get class to say what those are and how much influence they have on him. Show the interlocking roles he plays in life by the interlocking circles. Example: a large part of Henry's life is devoted to his job. It colors much of what he thinks and does off the job. The job circle therefore takes a big slice of his life, maybe more than his family. But his job also influences his family, the organizations he joins, etc.



Visual Aid C

Shows how Henry Whatnow's roles as husband, father, wage earner, consumer, citizen involve him in a complex network of relationships, associations, structures, and make him a part of our changing modern social order.



By Margaret E. Kuhn
Associate Secretary

The Story of Mr. Whatnow

On the highways and side roads that lead to Battle Creek, Michigan, billboards and posters give the visitor a new perspective on modern man's state. "You are a product of your food," proclaims America's leading manufacturer of breakfast foods. Advertising slogans like this get attention. They may be even partly true.

A nation's eating habits do determine, to a large degree, the physical stamina and vigor of the people and certain physical characteristics like the length and strength of bone tissue, the tone of muscle, and the ability to resist disease. The business of eating is an intensely important personal matter, associated with the drive to satisfy hunger and keep alive. It is also a social matter, involving economics and sociology as men secure their food supply from the earth and sea and distribute and market it. The customs and ceremonies that women and families follow in the preparation and serving of food are also important social aspects of our lives. The "personal" and the "social" are everywhere linked together, intertwined in human relationships and personal development.

Let's look at the stick figure on page 16. Here is Henry Whatnow. What makes him what he is? What influences really determine what he thinks and feels, and how he will act? What forces push and pull at him as he goes about his daily work, meets his family obligations and his responsibility to others who are important to him?

Some of the most powerful factors in the lives of Americans could be rather quickly identified—family, including parents, wife, children, other relatives; occupation and associates on the job; the organizations in which they hold membership—veterans' groups, chambers of commerce, athletic clubs, fraternal groups; church affiliation; newspapers and other mass media.

These we see are closely related. Many studies document the importance of our occupations, and the influence of socio-economic forces in personal development. Prof. Lloyd Warner and his students at Harvard Graduate School of Business Admin-

istration have studied "the whole man" in his "whole environment" in several American cities and towns.

They found that what a man does for a living largely determines his status or prestige and how his family will live and spend their money, as well as what he and his family value in life. Occupation provides the source of income and also certain norms of family life—how the children will be reared and disciplined, the education sought for them, the roles that they are expected to take in the community. But even more than his level of income or education, a man's occupation suggests the kind of associations he has with people, both on the job and in the community.

As modern industry has expanded and grown, our society has become more complex, and more urbanized and industrialized. Job factors are increasingly crucial in influence. William H. Whyte, Jr.'s *Organization Man* and David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* document this pervasive economic conditioning in all our lives, and suggest how powerfully we are influenced by the persons and groups related to our occupations. If the reader is inclined to doubt this, let him ponder the influence of real estate boards, medical societies, bar associations, or trade unions on the family life, politics, and reading habits of their members.

These and other studies agree that Americans generally consider occupation the most important activity in life. Job, income, and prestige are all intermingled in our thinking, and the average person sees them as fitting together.

As we look at Henry (or Henrietta), we realize that each plays many roles in life. Henry is at the same moment a son, husband, father, breadwinner with loyalties to the corporation or union, veteran of one world war, Republican, Kiwanian, White Sox fan, golfer for business reasons, Gobel devotee, and reader of the Chicago *Tribune*.

If we were to chart the roles and the way they overlap or conflict with each other, the diagram might be a group of circles closely linked, each competing (more or less) for time and attention. Each role suggests a network of relationships with other people. These relationships and roles make up our complex social fabric, forming the "secondary environment" that social scientists call "culture."

All this says something quite significant to our churches. If the economic forces are so decisive in our personal lives and in society as a whole, where do the churches fit in? What of their influence? Where, if ever, does the gospel break into our culture?

As the average church member worships in the pew on Sunday he cannot be seen only in his church-related roles of church officer and vice president of the men's council. If the church is to understand him, it must see him as a whole person involved in many roles, linked inextricably to a complex network of relationships, most of which seem to be more important than the church. Only as the church takes a realistic view of modern men and women can the Christian community help them first to see their roles and their in-

volvement in the economic and social order, and then to work within their roles and relationships to shape the patterns of our institutions and communities.

In *The Renewal of Man* Alexander Miller sees the yearning of church members for some deeper understanding of the conflict in their lives. "It is a very moving thing," he writes, "to discover how spontaneously a group of churchmen up to their ears in commerce will respond to any suggestion that their dilemma is even understood. For the most part it goes unacknowledged, but it creates a profound unease, especially when the clergy either do not refer to it at all or equally unhappily simply throw a pious sanction over the whole commercial and industrial melee."

Theologians and Biblical scholars at Evanston reminded the member churches of the World Council that God calls the whole church to a life of faith, obedience, service, and worship. This is the meaning of Christian vocation in the teaching of the New Testament. Every Christian has a vocation in this Biblical sense. In modern usage, however, the term is frequently employed to mean occupation or profession. Although we cannot prevent the secular use of the great Biblical word, we use it here in the Christian meaning of God's call, which comes to each member of his household, the church.

Many people today are asking whether Christianity has any relevance to their daily work. They feel that there is a gulf between the church and its worship and their workaday lives. Both Christians and non-Christians are aware of this gulf and are concerned with it. This gulf between the church and the life of the world can be bridged by those who have a Christian view of work.

In daily living and work the laity are not mere fragments of the church who are scattered about in the world, and who come together again for specifically Christian worship and instruction on Sundays. They are the church's representatives no matter where they are. It is the laity who draw together work and worship. It is they who bridge the gulf between the church and the world. It is they who manifest in word and action the Lord's oversight over that world which claims so much of their time, energy, and labor. This, and not some new order or organization, is the ministry of the laity. They are called to it because they belong to the church, although many do not yet know that they are called in this way.

Then too, this realism will require a shift from an exclusive emphasis on the "individual" and an ethic of individual responsibility to an emphasis on the individual-in-society and the efforts to discover an ethic of the group. Church leaders must see that the outworn and discredited theories that put the individual and the group at opposite poles and regard the group as an enemy of individual development only block the development of social responsibility. At Evanston, the World Council of Churches observed that "many important decisions are not personal decisions based on personal responsibility, but group deci-

sions based on group responsibility. . . . The difficulty arises from the fact that the churches are still working only with an ethic of individual responsibility, and have not yet thought out the ethics of group responsibility."

So we see that theologians and social scientists are thinking along similar lines about social responsibility. In one sense they are thinking of it as our being accountable to others under the force or coercion of external pressures and sanctions. In another sense they think of social responsibility as involving inner promptings and a sense of inner urgency, so that the individual person feels accountable to uphold particular values because he feels certain things should be done and certain values should be upheld and certain ends achieved. Dr. Muzafer Sherif believes that social responsibility in this sense "is not an abstract quality or state of mind that descends on individuals once in a while. Social responsibility or lack of it is an aspect of human relations in all its forms, whether within groups or between groups. Therefore, a realistic analysis of responsibility traces this aspect of human relations as it develops in reciprocal interaction of man with man, in their respective groups and between their respective groups."

H. Richard Niebuhr in *Christ and Culture* sees Christ as the converter of man "in his culture and society, not apart from these, for there is no nature without culture and no turning of men from salt and idols to God save in society."

By Roy W. Fairchild
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The Church Faces a Changing Family

There is a tendency in the Christian church to look back with nostalgia upon the family of half a century ago. That farm home of yesterday with its economic interdependence and common interests was the ideal picture of family unity and the center of Christian concern for which we strive today. But that family is gone, and with it the splendid insulation from the disintegrating movements of thought that our culture has embraced. The church must look squarely at the changing family and know that the gospel can speak with power also to it.

THE SCENE CHANGES

In the last fifty or seventy-five years the pattern of American life has been profoundly altered. No institution, not even the family, has remained immune to the effects of technological change.

The American frontier family, and later the nineteenth-century farm family, produced almost everything it needed for life. Its members assumed closely interlocked tasks in which each required the other. Father was sternly in command of the whole enterprise; wife and children knew their place. Instead of the rugged individualism, here was rugged familism. Parents educated their children (and there were often enough for a small-size schoolroom); they doctored them; and they took the responsibility for nurturing them religiously. We must not idealize this family. It had many shortcomings. But it also had a solid identity and its tasks were clear. Moreover, it was the backbone of the Protestant churches.

Today the forces of social change have transformed the family. It is now small—a husband, a wife, two or three children, and no other relatives. Often the members do little more than eat or sleep together. They produce almost nothing and buy almost everything—food, laundry, schooling, entertainment, and even religion. In our cities the "member" of a family is often an individualized fragment rather than a part of a unified team. In 1890 if a boy walked down the street, the townsfolk might ask, "Who's that boy?" And the an-

swer would be "That's John Smith's son." Family identity was important. The same boy might be recognized today as a star player on the school basketball team, and a different query might come: "What does his father do? I'm not sure I know who he is."

Why These Changes?

As we seek for causes of family change two social factors stand out: the growth of cities with their concomitant industrialization; and the development of the centralized political state.

The productive agrarian household was transformed into a consuming unit when the center of industry, trade, and merchandising was transferred from the rural towns to the big city. Here all activities become commercialized, and, in a real sense, associations become impersonal. Heterogeneous populations are thrown closely together, and the ideological unity of the countryside is broken. Mass communications and available transportation shatter the islands of isolation that still remain.

The state, grown powerful during war (and the threat of war), claims insatiably the loyalties and substance of its citizenry. No home is immune from decisions made in Washington or in city and state government. Educational and protective functions of the family, relinquished with the shift to the city, have been taken over by the government. Old-age insurance, fire, police, and military protection, health plans, and the proliferation of schools and child-care centers remind the student of the family how much it has given up. The authority of church and home has waned; that of the state has immeasurably increased.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY?

An ever-larger majority of our people have separated their work from their homes in their move from rural areas to city and suburb. As a consequence, family members find that they plot their days along entirely different lines that rarely intersect. The family is no longer a productive team working in the same enterprise, or crossing paths with any frequency.

Home Is No Longer a Workshop

With the separation of work from home, the family has been relegated to a secondary position in the middle-class world. Currently it can be observed that the family organizes itself around the man's career and gains its status from it. But still there remains the separation—physical and psychological—of the father's world from that of other family members. Wife and children often feel left out. The absent father deprives boys of a realistic model to identify with. A husband devoted so completely to his work robs his wife of significance and heaps upon her new tasks that had been assumed hitherto by the male. In her search for significance, the average middle-class wife has few avenues for expression, none of which is completely satisfying to her. The husband's job determines where the family will live; who their friends are; the kind of car they drive; where their chil-

dren are educated; how they are disciplined; how they vote; what they read; and perhaps even the church to which they go.

Family members do not always rest easy with this state of affairs. The imperialism of the job is often challenged. Parents and children sometimes resist the tendency to move with each offer of advancement. Difficulty in combining successfully his occupational and family roles is among the most common sources of guilt and anxiety for the middle-class male. Furthermore, the community continues to hold him responsible if any member of the family "fails."

In her restlessness the modern wife often is discontent with being "just a housewife." She has increasingly moved into employment outside the home. In 1890 only 14 per cent of the total female working force was married; in 1950 this figure had risen to 52 per cent. Currently about 12 million married women (29 per cent of the total number of wives) are in the labor force. They work because they want more income, less boredom, and more independence. There is evidence that the number of married women in the labor force will increase. The reduction in the size of the family due to birth control, the increase of mechanical aids in the home, and a changed public opinion about working wives and mothers have all contributed to the trend. Even those wives remaining home have mounting financial responsibility as they become the accountants and purchasing agents of the family. Truly, "urbanization" and the government change things.

The Family Now "Farms Out" Its Tasks

Sociologists have spoken, some joyously and some with fear, about the transfer of the family's functions to other institutions of society. The shift of the economic functions has been most pronounced. The economic life of the modern family is centered on consumption rather than production. It buys everything it needs. Children ordinarily get allowances or are introduced to the world of work through artificially contrived tasks designed to give "experience." The opportunities for really significant work are rare; thus an important way of gaining adult identity is seldom afforded our youth.

Most dramatically during the last half century, the educational function of the family seems to have been transferred from home to school, with penalties imposed by the Government for noncompliance. Not only the three R's, but training in manners, values, mores, and sex understanding has been assumed by the school. Although demonstrating great dependence upon the schools, parents are beginning to react, sensing that they have got more than they bargained for. Both school and family have to a considerable extent relinquished the process of passing on a tradition; but patriotic rituals and holidays continue to increase in importance. In the home there is more interest in "freeing" the child to create new family patterns. In the school there is the promotion of health, happiness, success, and adaptability values with some deference to traditional teachings. The

school has become the central purveyor of the ideals of American life, informed largely by the business community, the psychiatric clinic, and the state.

"Formerly recreation was largely centered in the home, whereas today it is increasingly outside," report Burgess and Locke. The majority of adolescents and adults claim they have their best times away from home. With the advent of television this may have changed a bit, but family visiting and family reading seem to have become victims of the "magic box." Vicarious sedentary types of recreation are on the rise. The return to family recreation via "do-it-yourself" has been centered largely in the suburban family, the numbers of whom are growing by leaps and bounds. Perhaps family living in the suburb is largely play, even in the necessary tasks of homemaking.

Sociologists of the family almost universally speak of a decline in the religious function of the home and the transfer of these functions to the religious institutions. Even the Roman Catholics decry the overdependence on the parochial school to the exclusion of home-nurtured faith. Studies show less home religious practice than fifty years ago; less orthodoxy among students; more willingness of young adults to scrap the particular faith of their parents and church in interfaith marriages. Seemingly the new compelling faith of the middle class is an amalgam of success and patriotic values to which the religious heritage is often made incidental. The confusion occasioned by the contradictory values of the groups to which the modern parent belongs may have brought about an undue reliance upon the church as *the* religious educator.

But They Still Take Child-bearing Seriously

American couples are marrying earlier, are raising more children, and are moving to locations where there is maximum opportunity for child development. The number of families with three and four children is increasing (especially among the professional and semiprofessional groups). The suburbs are teeming with children—this in spite of the widespread use of contraception. Catholics are still more fertile than Protestants except among the lowest socio-economic groups, but family planning has made great inroads on the fertility rate of the Catholic population.

In 1890, on the average, one parent died two years before the last child left home. Now, after the nest is empty, husband and wife have at least fourteen years together (about one third of their married life) before the death of one spouse. In this new stage many a wife feels lost without her former tasks. Both parents face the necessity of adopting new roles and a helpful relationship to community, church, and their married children.

The Roles Have Changed in Modern Marriage

With the disappearance of the need for the patriarchal foreman on the farm, the father lost both authority and functions within the family. Family decisions are often jointly made now. Male and female roles in the family have moved closer to-

gether, with the mother (in lieu of the absent father) taking on disciplinary, financial, and community obligations which her 1890 counterpart could never have assumed. These, in addition to her sexual, companionship, and hostess obligations, add not a little to the confusion, anxiety, and even resentment of the middle-class wife. For the male, status in his business or profession often takes the place of his position in the family. However, his retreat is not complete; he senses the importance of "fathering" and is very concerned with "doing things as a family" and "how the youngsters will finally come out." His dreams for them generally relate to occupational success.

Seldom is the child's status determined by membership in his family. He gains recognition chiefly through accomplishment in school, community, and peer groups, which compete strongly with the home (especially at adolescence) for his loyalty.

Are Grandparents Still Necessary?

No longer is there present within the household of the modern family a set of grandparents, aunts, uncles, or cousins, and even a lodger or two. Households are growing smaller.

The separation of the small two-generation family from grandparents was inevitable. With the necessity of locating near one's job, families were torn apart geographically—and psychologically. Modern parents may distrust advice given by farm parents who have lived a markedly less complex life and who don't quite understand the differences in taste, education, and habits fostered by the desire to climb socially.

Although many conflicts and many obligations (e.g., social security for old age) are avoided by the geographical separation of the generations, the weakening of the kinship tie has its hazards. The emphasis on the husband and wife establishing a new residence represents a sacrifice of solidarity, mutual protection, and identity. Even modern wives may want their mothers with them during the last days of their pregnancies. Many a grandparent, devoid of a disciplinary role, provides the corrective for the tenseness which parents show around their first children. When a family lacks a sense of its history (and the content of family tradition *is* broken when older generations are not on hand to keep family memories alive), it attempts to replace its lost identity with values derived from mass media and "anonymous authorities." The agencies of the community, including the church, may come to play the part of quasi grandparents.

Home Is Where You Hang Your Hat

The growth of cities, the development of military establishments, and large, ever-expanding corporations have made us a people who are "on the move." Twenty per cent of our population (35 million people) move each year. Migration trends are generally from South to North; from Middle West to Far West; from rural to urban; from urban to suburban areas. Suburbia has grown seven times faster than central cities, which in turn far outstrip the rural hinterlands.

What happens to a family and its members as the consequence of moving has not been studied closely. The

moving family is torn from the social matrix of which it has been a part; friendships are terminated; responsibilities are surrendered; ways of life are left behind. The cohesiveness of the family is often shattered. Large numbers of youth will migrate to college and military installations. Restlessness pervades the scene.

Uprooted from its cultural moorings, the family needs help in maintaining a vivid identity. More fundamental than their doing things together is the need for finding a common goal and a way of saying who they are.

A Christian View of Sex Is Obscured

In contrast to the double standard that existed up until the First World War, increased sexual freedom between men and women of the middle class led to a new conception of sex for both. There has been a sharp rise in premarital relations in the last fifty years. As one casts about for the causes of this change in behavior, numerous items present themselves: breakdown of small community social controls; weakening of religious loyalties; the invention of the automobile which put youth beyond the surveillance of adults; development of contraceptives; and the sex stimulation of mass media.

Currently, romantic love, a combination of emotional excitement, idealization, and sexual attraction, rules the mass media and the minds of youth. This "cardiac-respiratory" kind of love combines naïve confidence in the future with emotional certainty in mate selection. This excited love is based upon the novelty of the stimulus and cannot endure.

Individualism Grows in Marriage and Divorce

Religious and social concepts of marriage have progressively lost ground before a secular, individualistic notion: the criterion of successful marriage (as also of mate selection) is the personal happiness of husband and wife. Individual, not familial, values are now in first place.

It is not surprising to find common acceptance of the proposition that if marriages are made on the basis of personal happiness alone, without the added support of social and religious meaning, they should be equally easy to dissolve. Perhaps this assumption is closely related to the increase in divorce over the period 1870 to 1950. Recently there has been a small decline in the divorce rate.

Some relationships between divorce and family characteristics have been fairly well established. Most divorce occurs in early marriage, within the first five years. More divorced than married persons had unhappy childhoods and unhappy parents. The divorced tend to have shorter and more unhappy engagements than do the happily married. Couples with children have lower divorce rates, and with each succeeding child the rate declines. But, especially in our middle-class families, children are not always a direct deterrent to divorce. There is more divorce among religiously mixed and religiously unaffiliated families than among those in which husband and wife belong to the same faith. But divorces do not tell the whole story of domestic discord. A great many unhappily married couples

continue to live together, and another large group has separated or has deserted (poor man's divorce).

Many social changes contribute to the high divorce rate. Increase of jobs for women; increase in social services; smaller families; the spread of urbanized environment, providing a refuge for the divorced—all are factors that appear to be related. Divorce laws of states have remained relatively constant so they (and the positions of some churches, only recently liberalized) cannot be causes for the long-term increase in the divorce rate. The disruption of family life is most certainly related to a basic change in the *meaning* of marriage which has pervaded our culture. Monogamy, fidelity, and indissolubility have given way to an approach to marriage that is openly tentative, experimental, and individualistic.

QUESTIONS THE CHURCH IS BEGINNING TO ASK

A small sample of the questions the church is asking about the changing family reveals a concern that goes deeper than simply suggesting new techniques for family worship and family church nights, or even the support of National Family Weeks. Here are some of them:

1. Can we discover a "Protestant doctrine of the family," which will enable the family-in-flux to attain a distinctly Christian dimension in its life?

2. How might a Christian doctrine of vocation be brought to bear upon the job status preoccupation which so deeply affects family living?

3. What is the nature of the church in relation to families that belong to, and accept the values of, many other groups, some of which are deterrents to the spread of the Christian gospel?

4. Does the structure and function of the church in a highly mobile, uprooted society need to be evaluated? With 20 per cent of our membership moving annually, what is it that can foster a loyalty to the church and not merely to the congregation?

5. How can the church best help its families discover and work through the dilemmas and confusion of loyalties which permeate all aspects of family living? What are the dilemmas of pastors' families?

6. How can the church determine and assess the "experts" in community and mass media upon which Presbyterian families rely in times of confusion and crisis?

7. How can the church determine the "value hierarchies" of Presbyterian families, e.g., to what extent do our Presbyterian families place social mobility above other family considerations?

8. What kind of educational programs lead toward parental competence?

9. If the church is to take seriously its task of guiding persons to a Christian interpretation of sex standards, what ought we to be doing that we now neglect?

10. In what ways can the church educate its people for stable Christian marriage?

(Continued from page 10)

are institutionalized; each has its organization and makes its demands upon us. Most of us belong to several groups that conflict in their goals and moral standards. If one man tries to be a Baptist deacon on Sunday, an Elk on Monday, a typical high-pressure salesman on Tuesday, he is a high-priority candidate for a split personality. Personal integrity means consistency, staying in character, and having a unified view of oneself. We live in a world that exposes us to powerful cross-purposes and contradictions, and when we belong to both sides of a conflict we become a human tug of war.

Yet this is precisely where millions of people find themselves today. Sometimes we can resign from the things of which we disapprove, but very often we belong to them for better or worse and there is no escape. We can't resign from the human race, or from our nation, or from the workaday world, or from our citizenship in the community, or from our families.

The Revolution in Mass Persuasion

A new factor has been added in human life so radical in nature that the world can never quite be the same again: it has been called the revolution in communication. Most of the people in the United States read news selected and sent out by the three major press associations. Radio is piped into most of the homes in the country by the four major networks, which harangue listeners in the privacy of their own living rooms. Now television stands upon the hearth with the very presence of the super-salesman. The commentator with the suave voice dins into our ears not just advertisements but also a set of values and a climate of moral opinion. One concern spends 17 million dollars a year to advertise soap, and five advertising agencies buy nearly 75 per cent of the radio time in America. [Frederick C. Gruber, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* March, 1952.] The great danger of this lies in the commercial test of all our values. The truth sometimes becomes subservient to sales promotion, and the methods used appeal to the least common denominator emotions of sex, success, and popularity. The indirect product of this barrage of persuasion is to develop a moral atmosphere that places glamour ahead of integrity and sales results ahead of truth. The extent of overclaims for products in press, radio, and television has become so notorious that it is even the jest of children. Nevertheless, advertisers continue to make surveys that they say prove their effectiveness. Either the advertisers are vastly overrating their services or they are providing a kind of persuasion that jeopardizes the basic values for which we struggle as Christians.

Then, there is always the possibility that the control of opinion might become the direct goal rather than the indirect one. Already vast campaigns have been undertaken to "sell the American way of life." This would be a highly laudable goal if it were a presentation that covered the

full scale of Christian values that have been implicitly woven into the texture of American life. But this has hardly been the case. The great Christian requirement of living under continuous divine judgment and seeking earnestly to discover our sins and defects is strikingly absent.

Coupled with these channels of communication are all the psychological techniques of persuasion that have been worked out in experimentations in social control. As Clyde R. Miller describes them [in *The Process of Persuasion*], some of the most effective of these techniques play upon fears, prejudices, and desires with trigger words.

Four simple devices, says Miller, cover the basic techniques of persuasion: "the virtue device," creating acceptance by association with something good, honored, or esteemed; "the poison device," smearing with association with something bad or revolting; "the testimonial device," showing support by respectable or successful people; and "the together or band wagon device," showing that everyone is doing it.

In fairness, it must be pointed out that modern communication does provide marvelous new methods for spreading information and bringing leaders into closer contact with people. But a microphone or a television camera is a one-way circuit, and the audience has little opportunity to talk back.

The late Professor Louis Wirth pointed out that the revolution in techniques of mass influence has produced a dramatic shift in the type of leaders who occupy the positions of greatest influence in our society. No longer are the educators and ministers in the most advantageous position to wield the symbols and develop the interpretations that capture the will and the imaginations of our people. Today the influential are more likely to be the radio commentators, the script writers, the blue-penciling editors, or even the comic-strip creators.

If the mantle of effective influence has fallen upon a new set of men, it means that a new moral responsibility now falls upon these people. But as one top public-relations director said recently, "Our job is not to improve morals but to sell a product; someone else will have to shoulder the morals job." This means that a tremendous task of counterinfluence falls upon Christian leaders.

We need Christian writers, editors, public-relations men, and advertisers who recognize that you can't separate selling from moral influence; men who understand that their basic Christian responsibility lies not merely in worshiping God on Sunday but who will also fight to bring their Christian convictions into their work. And here again the lone eagle working within the framework of prevailing patterns will almost surely be overruled. He needs to belong to an organization of fellow Christians attempting to stand together to face these dilemmas.

In addition to this, the churches need a voice that is their own and that they can direct. That is why the decline in religious journalism needs to be reversed.

Roman Catholics and the smaller Protestant sects have seized upon the instrument of radio as a means for

exerting influence. Now this is being extended into television. But mainline Protestantism (representing the major Protestant bodies) was slow in its use of this field.

Even in the closed company of our churches, our attempts to face up to the pressures that encroach upon us are not suitably vigorous to match either our gospel or the situation.

The Organizational Revolution

Another aspect of what the late editor of *Harper's* magazine called "the big change" is the revolution in the size and effectiveness of organizations, especially in industry and economic activity. Kenneth Boulding has described this as "the organizational revolution," in his book [*The Organizational Revolution*] written in the series on Ethics and Economic Life, under the National Council of Churches. Professor Boulding traces the rise in the power and scale of economic organizations; in industry, in the form of the gigantic corporations; in labor, in the national and industry-wide unions; in the great farmers' organizations; and in the national organizations of the professions, such as the American Medical Association.

All these groups are organized primarily to promote and defend the interests of their members and to influence their environment favorably. The methods of one usually enlist a similar response from its competitors. For example, as Boulding illustrates, "racketeering unions and racketeering employers usually go together." Therefore, in the fight for survival, each organization feels it must exert the pressure and use the methods of its competitors to survive. In international relations, this results in an armament race; in advertising, a race in intensity and luridness of appeal; in the struggle for political advantage, increased lobbying.

In brief, the result is what has come to be called "a pressure group society." Each group exists to exert influence toward increasing its power and its advantages. Since there is never a limit to what seems a satisfactory position, the struggle continues and tends to spiral upward.

Today, 81 per cent of American workers work for someone else in business, industry, or government; what is more important, they work in vast organizations where the majority labor under orders and make very few decisions. If their instructions are to speed up work, take ethical short cuts, or misrepresent their product, they are compelled to do so or lose their jobs. Fear of losing one's livelihood is one of the most powerful kinds of coercion in the world.

Furthermore, it is not just a matter of meeting the requirements on the job; there is the problem of personally pleasing and standing in favor with one's superiors. There is an overpowering tendency for workers in large organizations of any kind to become affable "yes men"—to be overwhelmingly influenced, but never influencing in return.

As someone has put it, only the man at the top is responsible, and he is too far removed to understand the actual dilemmas or sense their ethical implications. Thus, the world of mass organizations is a world that really belongs to no one, where no one really shoulders moral responsibility or blame.

Who Should Read Social Progress?

Let us suggest the following persons in every local church:

- minister
- elders
- deacons
- trustees
- Christian education committee members
- social education and action subcommittee members
- church school administrative officers
- church school teachers
- officers of older youth and young adult groups
- officers and leaders of women's organizations
- officers and leaders of the men's council
- persons representing the church in community organizations and agencies

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